

A TEPOZTECAN BOOK OF DAYS

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ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *tlaculoles*.¹ During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday, Martes Santo.—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

¹ *Tlacolli*: pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

² Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

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476 The municipal government, it has already been suggested, is more formal than actual; and there are few special functionaries in charge of public repairs and improvements. The *ayuntamiento* employs men to care for the building in which the government has its offices, and to sweep and water the central *plaza*. But other repairs and maintenance operations are performed by individuals or groups of neighbors particularly concerned. If a water tank is dirty, it remains so until someone who draws water there is moved to spend the time and labor necessary to clean it. Tasks requiring many men and involving several techniques and kinds of materials are done by men living in the *barrio* where the repair must be made. If the proposed work is considerable, the consent of the *ayuntamiento* must first be obtained. This is, however, almost entirely formal. The local government does not pay for the work out of local funds or employ workmen. For example, when in 1927 a new set of stone troughs for washing clothes was put up where the *barrio* of La Santísima meets that of Santa Cruz, one of the *ayudantes* living in Santa Cruz asked consent of the *presidente*. A few of the elder men of the two *barrios* organized a party to make the repairs. One contributed the lime; another hauled the sand; others labored for a day or more. The *ayuntamiento* contributed nothing but the *aguardiente*.

Such co-operative labor is stereotyped, and bears the special name *cuatequil*. This word is from the ordinary word for work (*tequil*) and a root meaning

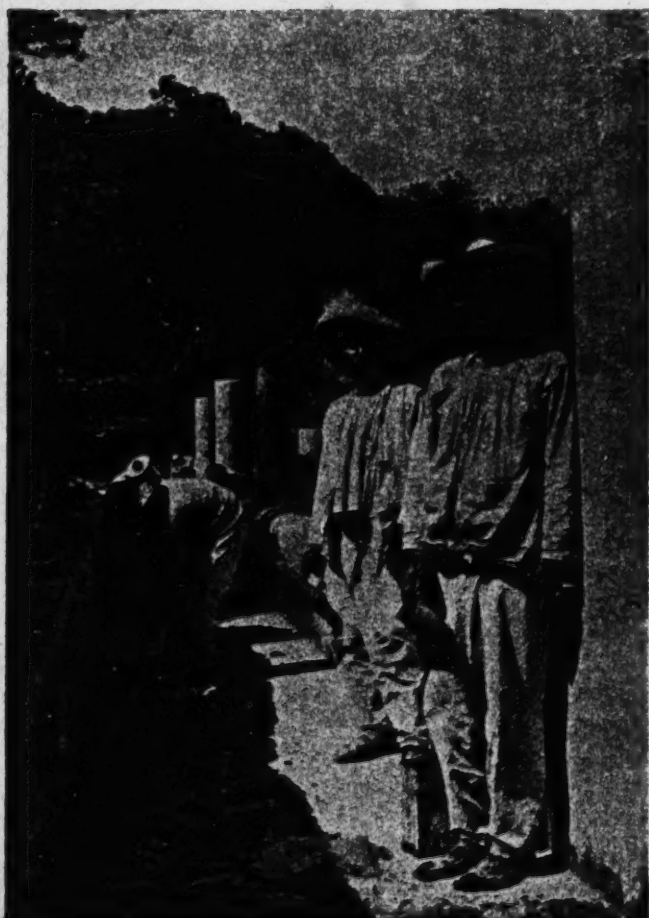
1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930

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**CUATEQUIL: REPAIRING THE PUBLIC WASHING-STONES,
BARRIO OF LA SANTISIMA**

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl*. The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl*. So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos*; the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta*. Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*mozta mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").¹ The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

Cuatequitl is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

¹ In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.¹ In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.² The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

¹ "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Lilliputiano,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepozteco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

² F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . ."

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one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque. 172
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This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.¹ 175
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¹ A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees." [722]

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

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This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910-23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.¹

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecan, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

¹ Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

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feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language.

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked for and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace.

He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*.

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

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The Catholic Church within the state has its regional seat in Cuernavaca, where the bishop resides. The priest in Tepoztlán is under his supervision and carries out his instructions. Periodic religious pilgrimages establish important ties with other parts of the state. Within Tepoztlán there are the following *mayordomías*, each of which organizes at least one annual visit to another town. The *mayordomías* in Tepoztlán proper include Mazatepec, Jiutepec, Tejalpa, Tlayacapan, all in Morelos, and Chalma in the state of Guerrero. Four of the seven villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán also have *mayordomías* that relate them to the state. Santiago goes to Oacalco and Yautepec; Gabriel Mariaca to Ixcatepec, Tlayacapan, Cuautla, Jojutla, Jiutepec, and Mazatepec, all in Morelos, to Amecameca in the state of Mexico, to Chalma in Guerrero, and to the Villa de Guadalupe in the Federal District. Ocotitlán goes to the Villa de Guadalupe, Chalma, and Amecameca. San Juan goes to Mazatepec, Chalma, the Villa de Guadalupe, and Amecameca.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 has been one of the most important factors in developing a sense of nationalism among Tepoztecs. Many Tepoztecs joined the ranks of the Zapatistas and had occasion to travel widely with the guerrilla forces. As we have pointed out, the rest of the population was forced to flee to other parts of the nation. All of this meant more extensive contacts with the outside.

During the years of the Revolution and thereafter, many of the *caudillos* of the Revolution, such as Zapata and Obregón, established the custom of visiting the peasants personally and discussing local problems. Contact with the rural population has been one of the policies of the post-Revolution presidents since Calles. Tepoztecs now think of the president of Mexico not only as a representative of the powerful government, but also as a popular figure, a friend of the peasants.

It is not uncommon for Tepoztecs to send requests or protests directly to the president. This has happened in almost every case of conflict between factions in the village or in cases of boundary quarrels with neighboring villages or municipios. This attitude toward the president was reinforced by the personal visit of General Lázaro Cárdenas to the village during his presidency. Cárdenas arrived in the village on foot, without any previous announcement or preparation, and accompanied only by a small contingent of friends and officials. The president set up a temporary office in the atrium of the church, where he consulted Tepoztecs about their problems. The big request from the village was for aid with the construction of a road to Cuernavaca. The president acceded, and the road was quickly completed with federal help.

The national elections for the president, which come every six years, also give Tepoztecs an opportunity to discuss political themes of nation-wide scope. Before the elections, delegates and politicians visit the village to organize local committees in favor of their particular group or candidate. During such campaigns Tepoztecs become more keenly aware that they are acting not only as Tepoztecs and as Morelenses, but also as members of the Mexican nation.

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463 The successful establishment of corn mills in Tepoztlán (Fig. 19) is important as an example of the process by which a modern technological trait becomes incorporated into a "folk culture." The first mill was set up in 1925 by a non-Tepoztecan. The response of the village was so feeble that he left after two years. Redfield lived in the village during this first attempt and explained some of the obstacles.

There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes.

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[461] To these reasons our informants added another: the strongest objections to the mill came not from the women but from the men, who viewed with great distrust the prospects of their wives having some leisure. The men believe firmly that the more occupied a woman is, the less are the possibilities of infidelity.

Shortly after Redfield left the village, a Tepoztecan opened another mill with great success. This success was due to a campaign of a group of women who saw the advantages which the mill would bring. Two years later another mill opened, and by 1942 there were four in the village. Today there is not a woman who does not regularly patronize the mills. A male informant described the success of the mill as "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men."

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178 Having discussed the increase in the old occupations and the addition of new ones, we can now consider the question of specialization. It is here that we find one of the most important developments. Twenty years ago all of the so-called specialists were also farmers who closed their shops and went into the fields during the seasons of planting and harvesting. Today, considering all of the occupations, new and old, we find that of 220 men, 60 no longer work as farmers. The occupations in which we find the largest percentage of full-time specialists are as follows: storekeepers, chauffeurs, and bus line employees, teachers, butchers, shoemakers, millers, plumbers, druggists, barbers, and corn merchants.

It is interesting to note that generally the full-time specialists are in the "new" occupations, while the part-time specialists are in the occupations dating from the colonial and pre-Hispanic periods.

COLLECTIVE LABOR

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653 Collective labor,¹⁰ known as the *cuatequil*, is in all probability an ancient tradition in Tepoztlán. At present it takes a number of forms, the village *cuatequil*, the barrio *cuatequil*, the *cuatequil* of neighbors, and, on rare occasions, an inter-village *cuatequil*. The village *cuatequil* is a compulsory form of collective labor organized by the village authorities for public works such as improving the roads, constructing public buildings, or doing other work which, in theory, will benefit the village as a whole. Each able-bodied man between ages twenty-one and fifty can

¹⁰ Family labor has already been treated in Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 61.

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be called upon for service to the community. Failure to respond to such a call is punishable by a fine or jail sentence. However, a man can pay the daily wage of a substitute if desired. When the task is a relatively small one and more men are called up than are needed for the actual work, some are asked to contribute food or drink instead of labor.

The better-to-do families generally do not participate in the village *cuatequil*, since they consider such work beneath their dignity and prefer to pay for substitutes. The main source of labor for the village *cuatequil* are the poor who cannot afford substitutes or fines. The men from the smaller and poorer barrios have the reputation of being the most industrious and reliable workers for the *cuatequil*. This is related to the fact that they have little political influence and have greater fear of the authorities.

The village *cuatequil* is organized in terms of the eight *demarcaciones* or wards into which the village is divided. The *ayudante* or representative of each *demarcación* is ordered to announce a *cuatequil* in his ward, and specific men are designated to appear at a given time and place. The attendance of the men is checked by the *ayudante* from his list.¹¹ Sometimes, when men are needed at short notice, more direct means are used to assure successful recruitment.

In a recent boundary dispute with the municipio of Tejalpa, the authorities posted aides at all the roads and paths leading out of the village to intercept the men as they went to their fields early in the morning. In this way 600 men were recruited in one day, and they were set to work to cut through the forest overgrowth which covered the disputed boundary line. In this case, since it was a municipio boundary, men from the other villages were also recruited. Other instances of inter-village *cuatequil* have occurred in the repair of bridges which are used in common.

In recent years there have been very few village *cuatequils* of major importance. In 1934 some work was done to improve the market place. The last important village *cuatequil* was organized in 1926-27 while Redfield was in the village.¹² At this time, under the initiative of the local political faction known as the Bolsheviks, communal washbasins were constructed. (See Fig. 20.) During the twenties, political feelings ran so high and cleavages were so marked that members of the opposition group refused to work in *cuatequils* organized by those in power. Fines were out of the question at the time: because authority could not be enforced.

During the early thirties, when political schisms were still strong, there occurred an unusual type of voluntary village *cuatequil* for the construction of the road to Cuernavaca. Led by two enterprising non-Tepoztecan schoolteachers and with the backing of the colony of Tepoztecan in Mexico City, the villagers decided to build a road to Cuernavaca. The two political factions, the Bolsheviks and the Frater-

¹¹ Some men will work until the check-off and then slip away.

¹² Before the Revolution, when there was more money in the local treasury and when the local government was in the hands of caciques whose tenure was quite stable, there were many more *cuatequils* than now.

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[578] males, refused to work side by side, and each organized separate shifts, one beginning at Tepoztlán and working toward Cuernavaca, the other working from Cuernavaca toward Tepoztlán.

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[665] Although the village *cuatequil* is intended as a means of aiding the village as a whole, there are many obstacles to its successful operation, and it is gradually declining. Perhaps the fundamental difficulty is the inherent individualism of Tepoztecan, the suspiciousness and critical attitude toward the local government, and the paucity of local funds. The village *cuatequil* has been traditionally associated in the minds of the villagers as a coercive rather than a voluntary institution. This may

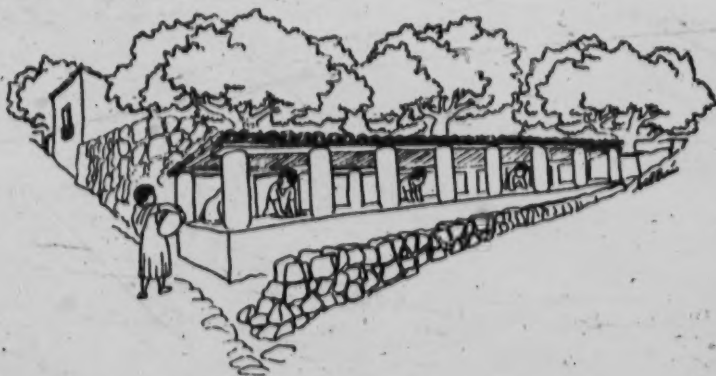
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Fig. 30. The communal washbasins.

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[661] be the result of having lived under an authoritarian system in which the local government had been imposed for years. Since the local government, generally the *sindico* or the president, has the power to designate the citizens who are to work in the *cuatequil*, there is ample opportunity for favoritism and vengeance against political opponents or personal enemies.

[524] It may be significant in this connection that children in their games will often say, "Unless you do this I will give you your *cuatequil*," suggesting that the *cuatequil* is viewed as a punishment. It should also be noted that historically the existence of a native institution for collective labor was a distinct aid to the Spanish conquerors in their organization and control of the labor supply.

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[626] The second type of *cuatequil* is the *barrio cuatequil*. This is the collective working of the lands of the *barrio* saints. *Barrio* members are expected to cooperate in the preparation of the land, planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops from the saints' field. The sale of the produce goes for the upkeep of the local chapel. In contrast to the village *cuatequil*, participation in the *barrio cuatequil* is entirely voluntary. The *barrio mayordomo* goes through the *barrio* announcing at each house the time of the *cuatequil*. While there are no fines or penalties for non-

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequil* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequil*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequil* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequil* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water fountains were built in this way. The *cuatequil* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecs need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecs are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecs now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecs, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecs consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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Year	Income (Pesos)
1934	4,011.80
1935	3,742.60
1936	—
1937	5,162.49
1938	4,795.75
1939	6,494.70
1940	7,088.58
1941	6,467.74
1942	7,617.03
1943	7,568.99

Since the salaries of the officials amounted to over seven thousand pesos per year (during the forties), it is obvious that there was little money left over for public improvements. This is one of the demoralizing factors in local government and also one of the reasons that the Tepoztecos generally look to the federal government for help. Each president who enters office promises to do something for his pueblo. But he soon learns that there are no funds, not to mention the other difficulties. To make matters worse, many villagers are convinced that the local government officials, especially the president, *sindico*, *regidor*, and secretary, are dishonest and have a large income from illegal dealings. But this does not deny the fact that the official income is much too meager for any significant public works program with local funds.

It will be noted that the municipio has practically no income from land taxes. Most of the taxes on land goes to the state government. The state government collected over sixty thousand pesos in taxes in the twelve years between 1931 and 1943 for which data are available.* During this entire period the only state funds which went back to the village were for the salary of the state tax collector who was paid on a pro rata basis.

The taxes which go to the federal government are considerably smaller than those which go to the state. Federal taxes taken out of Tepoztlán are shown in the following:

Year	Pesos
1938	2,529.86
1939	2,455.04
1940	—
1941	3,118.99
1942	3,794.55
1943	3,568.77

The routine business of the local government consists primarily of issuing permits for various types of activities. The most frequent requests include the following:

- Permits for fiestas, religious and secular
- Permits for slaughter of animals

* These data were obtained from the official state tax records in Cuernavaca.

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In 1923 the national presidential campaign for Calles began and the Unión, under the guidance of Ortiz and Hernández, backed Calles. But the revolt of Huerta against Obregón occurred at this time, and Ortiz and Hernández came to Tepoztlán to organize the village against Huerta. The Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán, ex-Zapatistas, joined the troops of Don Genova de la O, head of operations in the state of Morelos for the Obregón forces. Ortiz obtained about fifty 30-30 rifles for the Hernández brothers and other active members of the Unión who were anti-Huerta. The Huerta revolt was put down and the Unión became stronger in the village. 175
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In 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, the Unión succeeded in having its slate of candidates elected to the local government. It was during the term of office of Rafael Gutiérrez that the Bolsheviks revived the village *cuatequid*, which had not functioned since the pre-Revolution days, and built the public washing places, improved the market places, and paved many streets. [666]
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In the latter part of 1926 the Cristeros entered Tepoztlán but were repulsed by Tepoztecos who were organized by the Hernández brothers. This increased the prestige of the Bolsheviks in the village, but their domination was not to last long. Toward the latter part of 1927 the Centrales became active politically and were armed by the newly appointed head of operations for the state of Morelos, Juan Domínguez. Now both village factions had arms. In December of 1927 the Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán declared themselves in rebellion against the local authorities. At this point some of the Bolshevik members of the local government fled to Mexico City.

The Centrales, led by Juan Hidalgo, now organized armed defense corps known as the Defensa Social and the village was again in the throes of a minor civil war. The Hernández brothers and their followers had many sympathizers in the village. They killed Valentín Ortiz, whom they considered a *cacique* and therefore an enemy.

In February of 1928 on the day of the Carnaval, the Hernández brothers entered the village masked as *chinelos* and carrying arms under their robes. The corps of the Defensa Social, who were on guard and armed, were taken completely by surprise. The rebels disrobed and opened fire, seeking to kill the leaders of the opposition. But in the struggle many innocent men, women, and children were killed. The casualties at the end of that day were twenty-two dead and about twenty-four wounded. With this massacre the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos came to an end. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández kept out of the state of Morelos for a long while, and within a few years three of the Hernández brothers were tracked down and shot by government forces. The remaining two were shot by relatives of the victims of the massacre of 1928.

In 1929, under the leadership of Luis Quiroz, the Unión made a come-back in the form of a new organization known as the Fraternales. A meeting of about forty Tepoztecos was held in the school and an organization called the Unión Fraternal de Campesinos Tepoztecos was formed. Its slogan was "Union, Justice, and Civil- 175
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of whom were Tepoztecos. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, a salary for the secretary, and for office equipment. 175
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The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotlán. 175
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Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them. [426]
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Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the *Fraternales*. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecos, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the *Fraternales* was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved. [314]

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the *Fraternales* reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecos. 175
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[1941-1942]

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[652] The latter had control of the forests. The municipal president maintained that the commissariat should not have authority in matters of forestry. There was a certain amount of hatred between them, though not declared. The council was seeking funds to meet the outstanding expenses which were incurred within the municipal administration. Seeing that there were no sources of revenue, the council voted to call together on a certain day all the charcoal makers and to ask them for their cooperation; that is, that they should give one day's work to cut down trees and cut them into logs, so that they might make charcoal kilns for the benefit of the council, and that the profits from those kilns would go into the municipal treasury.

[652] All agreed to accept and to meet on the appointed day in the appointed place to cut the trees. The charcoal makers only cut about ten trees, which yielded little money for the council's purposes. There was nothing to do about it but give in, because only enough money came of it to pay the person who watched over the furnace when it was burning. The municipal president despaired more than ever, because he saw that the money coming into the municipal treasury was barely enough to pay the few miserable salaries of the township employees. Not even the police could afford three men to keep watch over the peace.

The municipal president did not give up. He wanted to follow faithfully what he had promised. He began to work to improve the public market, soliciting federal aid. When it came to the ears of the dwellers in the town that there was a question of building the market, some of them immediately went to the municipal president's office; they made it clear that if such a market were to be completed, their properties in that vicinity must be respected. The municipal president demanded documentation to substantiate the true ownership of the small pieces of land which were within the property belonging to the township. Most of them presented their documents, and they reached a settlement that it would be preferable to pick the property by lot, in agreement with the owners. And, together with the council, they would finish the rooms which would be used for trade. As was said before, all this reached the stage of study but nothing more was ever done.

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[653] About the month of August of the second year of his administration, Fulgencio Campos admitted that he was failing in his intention to bring about some improvement for the town. He decided to play his last card and pave the public gardens. This time he interviewed not the civil authorities but the military. It happened at the time that federal workers were within the township breaking stone for the highway. Campos interviewed the chief of the military zone and set forth all the reasons for his aspirations and his desire to leave some work for his people. The military chief agreed that a few of the trucks which were being used to carry stone for the highway should be left at the municipal president's office so that they might be utilized in the paving of the public gardens. The trucks arrived right away, and the council tried to raise funds to pay for the sand and cement. The council agreed that the work should be completed after the end of the rainy season, that is, about the month of October, so that the rains would not slow up the work of the paving.

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682 The day of the national celebrations, that is, the sixteenth of September, the comptroller, Saturnino Córdova, who was commissioned to list the animals at the slaughterhouse, got drunk with some friends. Most of his acquaintances were men in the meat business.

On the seventeenth it was learned that Córdova had disappeared and could not be found anywhere. About five in the afternoon a woman reported a corpse in a ravine near

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the municipal slaughterhouse. The authorities took the corpse to the Town Hall for identification, because birds of prey had already mutilated the face and part of the body. The investigations began, and finally it was known that Córdova had been murdered inside the slaughterhouse and his body thrown into the ravine. 175
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At that time there was also an investigation going on in the office of the under-secretary of the Ministerio Público for cattle stealing. It was discovered that the lost animals had been slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, and that the animals had been stolen by the same persons who had murdered Córdova because he was trying to discover the thieves. The council aided Córdova's family with burial and what was necessary to settle a few other expenses. The council proceeded to call the alternate for the comptroller's office, to take charge of the post which Córdova had been filling. [685]

In a short time the cement necessary for the paving of the public gardens was bought. Only half of the job could be done, and this only with the councillors giving a part of their pay. An additional sum of fifty pesos, which had been given by a woman toward the pipe line for drinking water, also went into the paving of the public gardens and the fixing of benches. The president, on leaving his post, got into a suit over this fifty pesos; the people said he had stolen it. 175
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ADMINISTRATION OF 1943-44

On the first of January, 1943, the only candidates who had taken part in the elections of the first Sunday in December were inaugurated: Municipal President, Emilio Martínez; Comptroller, Benito Vargas; and Attorney General, Carlos Quiroz. In the first council meeting they decided to increase the taxes of the township for the purpose of town improvements. All those who take office as presidents are always eager to improve their town. The council in agreement with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, who had some funds for the development of the forests, took those funds and bought the necessary cement and sand to finish the paving of the public gardens. And the work was finished in a few weeks. [666]
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There came a fiesta at which people drank too much, and as this municipal president, Emilio Martínez, had many friends, who were constantly inviting him to have a drink, he drank all that day. When evening came and it was getting dark, he was completely drunk. Upon getting into the bus he met another man who was also far gone, and they started a commotion. They went from words to blows and from blows to kicks. When Martínez saw the other man stretched out, he began to kick him until his relatives and the police intervened. Of course, the man was taken to jail, and although he had received the blows from Martínez, he was fined five pesos. 175
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Martínez had a son who was completing his military service. In a short time stories began to circulate to the effect that young Mexican men were going to be sent to war, which was then at its height. Undoubtedly they hinted this to Martínez. According to the story they tell, he organized a band of bad fellows, and on the Sunday when his son was en route to the barracks this band attacked the vehicle in which he was riding. Martínez claimed that his son had been kidnapped by bandits, but the matter did not end there. The state governor gave orders to the chief of the judicial police, and one day when Martínez was in the city he was apprehended and taken to the state penitentiary at the disposition of the governor of the state. As soon as the other members of the council learned that Martínez was being held in prison, they called the comptroller, as was provided in the law, to take the office of municipal president for seventy days. The comp-

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[1943-1944]

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661 troller accepted gladly because from the beginning he had wanted to be president. In a few days Martínez was freed, and when he returned to the president's office, the comptroller was forced to resign. The alternate comptroller, Froylan García, was called up to take the office.

The attorney general for some reason or other began to quarrel with Martínez, gradually drawing away from him even in the negotiations which involved both their offices. It reached the point where the attorney general undertook obligations without informing the municipal president. This deepened the rift still more. The attorney general began to hurl charges at Martínez availing himself of the support of some citizens who were his adherents.

When this reached the ears of the state government, Martínez and the other councillor were called on for explanations, but it turned out that they could not prove the charges they were making. On the contrary, the attorney general and his supporters suffered a call from the government to appear. It did not end there.

[316] At that time citizens were taking stone out of the quarry, and the attorney general alleged that the president was charging for the extraction of the stone and keeping the money. Because of this the split became even deeper, until finally the attorney general hardly ever went to the municipal president, but contented himself with carrying on his affairs in the lower tribunal. He tried to win the friendship of the comptroller so that there would be a majority against the municipal president, but as there were occasions when there were things which were damaging to the comptroller, he could not come to terms with the attorney general but continued faithful to the municipal president. Those two councillors, together with a few enthusiastic citizens, tried to form a committee to bring about the construction of a school in the town. They could get together only a small fund because at that time the president of Mexico had already ordered the construction of the present school, through the diligence of Angel Bocanegra. That was the end of the labors of the committee formed by the council and other citizens; they had succeeded in getting together barely 250 pesos which have remained in the power of the comptroller up to the present time.

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661 When the dry season arrived, and drinking water began to be scarce everywhere, the council decided to improve or level the piping which brought water to the town. The [312] council succeeded in getting together many people who willingly lent themselves to improving the pipe line. They asked for help from a man who was the manager of the Bank of Mexico, who collaborated by buying some pipes which the council needed. As the attorney general saw that he had not succeeded in discrediting the president, he decided to complain to the office of the attorney general of the state, so that the president would be judged for all the crimes which, according to the attorney general, he had committed. After trying every means to harm the municipal president without success, the attorney general presented his resignation. It was accepted right away, and the alternate for the position was called immediately. The people of the town had grumbled about the outgoing attorney general because, when he was sitting in judgment on a case, he almost always used vulgar words to call attention to the delinquents.

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666 The council, which was about to finish its term, began to think about its successor. Each member tried to leave a friend in office, using every means possible so that he might remain. The municipal president held conferences with some friends of his in the town and in the other towns. Again the town was divided into three parties; some belonged to the party of the council and its candidates, others were led by Vicente Campos, and

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others by Federico Campos, aided by the Fraternales. The municipal president took up this problem with the governor of the state, with the deputy for the district, and with the president of the political party, but nothing was gained. After the legal elections, all the candidates came out null and void. The state government intervened in the matter and appointed the municipal council. This council, made up of completely different persons, was to take office on the first of January like a legally elected council.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1945-46

On the first of January, 1945, the appointed municipal council was installed, consisting of J. Guadalupe Ortega, Miguel Ríos, and Fortino Guzmán, in place of all the candidates who had set out to occupy the municipal offices. This council was pledged to send out within ninety days the summons for new elections to form the council which was to officiate during this same period. On the first of April, the candidates who were supported by the Fraternales—that is, Federico Campos as president, Domingo G. Alvarado as *regidor de hacienda*, and Juan Z. Rodríguez as attorney general—were installed. After having taken office, they proceeded to notify all the important people to take notice, also other friends whom they had in Mexico City.

Before coming to power, Federico Campos had counted on some adherents, among whom were some persons of moderate culture. But since he did not listen to their counsel he achieved nothing but hatred. These persons had proposed that he should improve the water system, a matter of great importance to the town. After the labors of experts, and efforts on all sides, Campos succeeded in getting the governor to sign a contract with the Secretariat of Health and Social Work to complete the work which was so much desired.

At the same time, the matter of obtaining electricity was discussed in an interview with the secretary of national economy, who ordered that additional studies should be made concerning the matter. Later they had an interview with the president of Mexico, who gave orders to the secretary of national economy. After all the efforts made in the different departments, the federal election of new officers gravely harmed the works completed. Since there was a complete change in the government, they declared that all the work was useless because it was necessary to have new studies made by the new officials.

With this, Campos lost heart completely, and he limited himself to expediting the matters in his office. Furthermore, since the other villages of the township knew that Campos was trying to improve the villages, others approached him for aid in the matter of bringing drinking water to their people. When the municipal president, or rather the council, saw that the villages were also interested, they tried to unite in order to bring about an adequate water system for all, and on one occasion they interviewed the authorities of another township which had a sufficient water supply to make additional outlets possible. The negotiations were successful, but this township was a considerable distance away, and much capital was required to purchase the materials needed to bring in the water. When the estimates were made, the sum was fantastic in relation to the economic possibilities of the villages.

This council also tried to improve the town by aiding in the literacy campaign. Since the adult, who did not know how to read or write, refused to study, the council visited all the villages of the township and named the sub-committees, just as an extension of the committee of four hundred working in the municipal seat. Campos tried to raise funds to pay the teachers at the literacy centers. When people refused to contribute or to attend classes, he acted in accordance with the law and punished those who did not comply.

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suffering, and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.

Now let us consider some of these differences in more detail. Redfield's account of Tepoztlán stresses the role of the communal lands as a unifying factor within the village and the municipio. While this is certainly true it is only part of the story. With the single exception of church lands, communal lands were and are individually operated, and the ideal of every Tepoztecan is to own his private plot of land. Furthermore, the communal lands have been a source of inter-village quarrels, and during the year that Redfield was in Tepoztlán these quarrels resulted in violence. Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequil*, a traditional form of collective labor, was part and parcel of village life. He described a *cuatequil* which occurred during his stay as if it were a common and regular occurrence. As a matter of fact, it was the first village *cuatequil* of importance since the Revolution, and there have been very few subsequent ones. The particular *cuatequil* which Redfield observed was due to the curious circumstance whereby a local, socialistically oriented political faction, directed from Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecan who were members of the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, locally known as the Bolsheviki, revived the traditional *cuatequil*. Before the Revolution, the village *cuatequil* was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor but was also associated with forced labor and imposition by the local *cacique* groups which ruled the village during the Díaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional *cuatequil* as a source of labor. In short, Redfield's account of the cooperative aspects of village life needs to be modified somewhat in the light of other data.

Redfield portrayed Tepoztlán as a community of landowners and did not mention a land problem. But we found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own private land, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources. Redfield gave a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime as having reached a period of great cultural florescence, but he failed to point out that this was limited to only a few Tepoztecan, and that the vast majority of Tepoztecan were illiterate, desperately poor, landless, and living under an oppressive political regime which forbade them to utilize their own communal resources. In this connection it is interesting to note that Tepoztlán was one of the first villages in the state of Morelos to join the Zapatista revolt against the Díaz regime. Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for